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Let us now consider a few triads in which the tripartite division is given form.

(*a*) In the village temple system the temple of the dead (*pura dalĕm*) is in principle located to *kĕlod* or *kĕlod*-west of the village centre. Around this temple, the first to be built when a new *desa* is founded, the care for the souls that are not yet purified is concentrated. Whenever someone is seriously ill an attempt can be made to mollify the deity of the temple of the dead by presenting offerings and pronouncing an exorcizing formula to the ailing person's soul, which is considered to be already in waiting there: 'Please come home quickly, for we have asked the deity for you.' When a person dies he is usually buried for the time being; then when the time has come for cremation the first step is that of asking the deity of the temple of the dead to release the soul. Next the dead person is addressed at the burial ground: 'Be so good as to come home. The ceremonies for you will be fulfilled completely. You no longer have to serve, for we have asked the deity for you.' When the body is disinterred Mother Earth is asked to yield up the corpse while an offering is made.[21]

By means of cremation the soul is purified and joins the group of deified beings.[22] These beings are worshipped by the *desa* in the navel temple (*pura pusĕh*). In the nature of things it lies to the *kaja* or *kaja*-east of the village. The village community finds its expression in the assembly-hall temple (*pura bale agung*) or *desa* temple, which is customarily located at the centre of the village. In this way the community of mortals finds itself between the group of impure, ominous dead and that of the purified, salutary, deified dead, exorcising the first category and worshipping the second.

(*b*) The same principle dominates the lay-out of a dwelling compound. The household temple where the deified ancestors of the family are honoured again lies to the *kaja*-east, the refuse heap to *kĕlod*, and the dwelling between the two. The ground plan of a royal palace (*puri*) is similar. The southwest court of the *puri* of Gianyar, for example, is open to everyone; its intersticed walls serve more or less to emphasize that fact. More to the north and

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east lie the private courts of the ruler, his family, and his retinue. In the northeast corner is the household temple.[23]

(*c*) In the inner court, the part of the temple dedicated to the 'upward service', there are various pagodas (*merus*) – representatives, as their name suggests, of Mahameru, the mountain of the gods (thus, one might say, miniature Gunung Agungs). These structures are also tripartite, but in this case the tripartition is vertical. The stone base rests on a serpent and a tortoise, both of them nether-world animals. The multiple roofs of dark *duk*, the fibre of the sugar palm, represent heaven, which is conceived of as having various levels. The middle section consists of a small wooden chamber, the contact place for the gods when they visit this world.

(*d*) Closely parallel is the design of the *bade*, the towerlike structure in which the body of a member of a noble caste is taken to the place of cremation. The lower part, the part just above the carrying poles, is again characterized by a serpent and a tortoise. The upper edge of it displays a mountain motif, indicating the realm of the earth. Above that is a pavilion representing the atmosphere, the place for the dead person, who no longer belongs to the earth, but not yet to heaven. The pavilion is supported by Garuda, the bird of heaven. The multiple roofs, like the roofs of the *meru*, are a replica of the heavens; the number of roofs depends on the caste of the deceased person.[24]

(*e*) The tripartite division also plays an important part in the concept of the relation between man, as the microcosmos, and the ordered universe, the macrocosmos, a concept which is of very great importance in Balinese mystic contemplation and soteriological doctrine. The feet of man not only have contact with the earth in the literal sense, but also figuratively, in a classificational sense, with the nether world. Man's head belongs to the upper world; the fontanel is the place where the deity is thought to descend. The trunk, and more especially the heart, represents the intermediary element.

These notions find expression at any number of ceremonies, for example at the ritual purification which formed a part of the

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Direction	Divinity	Colour	Day (of the five-day week)	Number
East	Iswara	White	Umanis	5
South	Brahma	Red	Paing	9
West	Mahadewa	Yellow	Pon	7
North	Wisnu	Black	Wage	4
Centre	Siwa	Varicoloured	Klion	8

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Though this system has some points in common with the bipartite and tripartite divisions, it is not to be looked upon as merely an expansion of them. It has a function of its own, for example in augury: with it a fighting cock's chances can be calculated on the basis of its colour, the day of the match, and its place in the cockpit.

It also plays an important rôle in the offering ritual. For example, it determined the arrangement of the altars and officiants and the composition and ingredients of many of the offerings at the royal consecration mentioned above, as may be seen from the following brief description.

Pavilions (*pĕmiosans*) had been built at the centre and on the east, north, west, and south side of the *puri* square for the officiating priests. For this occasion one *pĕdanda Siwa* officiated for each of the four directions. (To judge from similar occasions it would seem that a *pĕdanda Boda* is preferred for the south if possible.) In the centre sat a *pĕdanda Siwa* and a *pĕdanda Boda*. The *pĕdanda Siwa* in the centre was the leader of the ceremony. The place of the *pĕdanda Boda* was to the right and the south (*kĕlod*) of the *pĕdanda Siwa* on a *pĕmiosan* erected close to the centre of the square. Both these priests sat with their faces turned to the east. At a distance, to the east, south, west, and north of the centre, sat their four colleagues, each oriented towards his own direction. The *pĕmiosans* were adorned with curtains in the colours belonging to their directions; the curtains for the centre were varicoloured (*manchawarna*, the combination of the four colours of the directions).

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For the centre and each of the four directions there was a *sanggar tawang*, a structure used for offerings to the celestial gods. It is a platform on eight fairly high posts, surrounded by a railing and

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postponed for two more moons. Instead a simpler *odalan* would be celebrated in the Balé Agung, and afterward the gods carried in procession to a temple one day's walk away, accompanied by four hundred of the villagers, to be fully cleansed with holy water of the evil which had befallen them (*mĕlis, ngĕlungayang*). This is the way of old. The people must obey the laws of the *kramă dĕsă*, for should they neglect the ritual in any form, famine would be upon the land, pestilence in the village, the crops fail, the beasts die. The birth of *anak kĕmbar bunching*, a boy and a girl, is the sign of disaster — only by strict adherence to the laws may the disasters be averted.

On the morning following the birth of the twins the men of the village tore down the house where they were born. It did not take long, for the houses of Sukawană are but a single chamber fitted with a raised sleeping-platform on either side of a low hearth — three stones on a mud floor. The walls are of solid two-inch boards, the roof a shingle of split bamboo, turned inner side upward to make gutters for the rain. When the house was in pieces, the men loaded it on their shoulders and carried it off down the steep trail to the edge of the graveyard. Behind them came the women bearing mats, baskets, clay pots, a coconut spoon, all the furnishings and contents of the house. When they had finished, the place where the house had stood lay bare and empty, a break in the trim line of the compound, like the gap of a fallen tooth.

If the new house which was to be built up out of the materials of the old had been to accomodate only the family of the twins, the building would have been easy, for the wood is joined, the pillars fit into the beams, and the roof bamboos hang on their supports by slits cut in the lower side of each shingle. But the new *kubu* was to accomodate some fifty men. These were the watchmen, the *gĕbagan*, relatives and villagers who would take turns sleeping there beside the graveyard. Why must they watch — what must they watch for? Are they the keepers of the unlucky parents? No, the people say they come out of

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compassion, to help the banished ones, for it is lonely beside the graveyard and evil creatures (*léyak*) roam there at night, and one would not dare to be there alone, no, not even ten strong men would dare to sleep there, but if there are fifty it is noisy and no one is afraid.

So the villagers brought bamboo poles and rough mats of woven coconut fronds and sheaves of the long grass which grows upon the hillsides. With the posts of the old house and a few green trees as supports, they patched together a shelter some forty feet long by twelve feet wide. (The original house measured perhaps fifteen feet by nine). At the northwest end (*tëbënan*) of the building a private room was walled off for the parents with the twins, provided with a hearth for their use. The watchmen have two long rows of boards laid on stones for their sleeping place, and a kitchen outside to the southeast. The mother and the father of the twins may not cook their food in the same kitchen with the watchmen, for they are too unclean.

By evening the *kubu* was ready, a draughty and uncomfortable place, for the reception of the unlucky family. The mother of the twins, still weak from a difficult birth, was carried down the hillside and installed in this prison which she might not leave for a month and seven days. The grandmother of the twins carried in a coconut shell their joined placenta, wrapped in cloth together with as much of the blood, amniotic fluid and sack, as could be collected. The *ari-ari* (placenta with umbilical cord) of any new born child is called his brother (*nyamă*) and must be buried in or before the house. A shrine is made for this ugly and terrifying brother, and offerings given to it daily so that it may watch over the living child. The *ari-ari* of the twins was taken to the *kubu* and buried under the hearth in the private room of the parents.

I have heard in Bali that twins such as these are 'wrong' because the boy and the girl are as if married in the womb. I have heard also that if a boy child brings his wife with him out of the womb, it is a birth such as only gods and kings may have. For the common *sudră* it is an affront to

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Photo Walter Spies.

1. *The parents with the twin, the grandmother holding the pusuh.*

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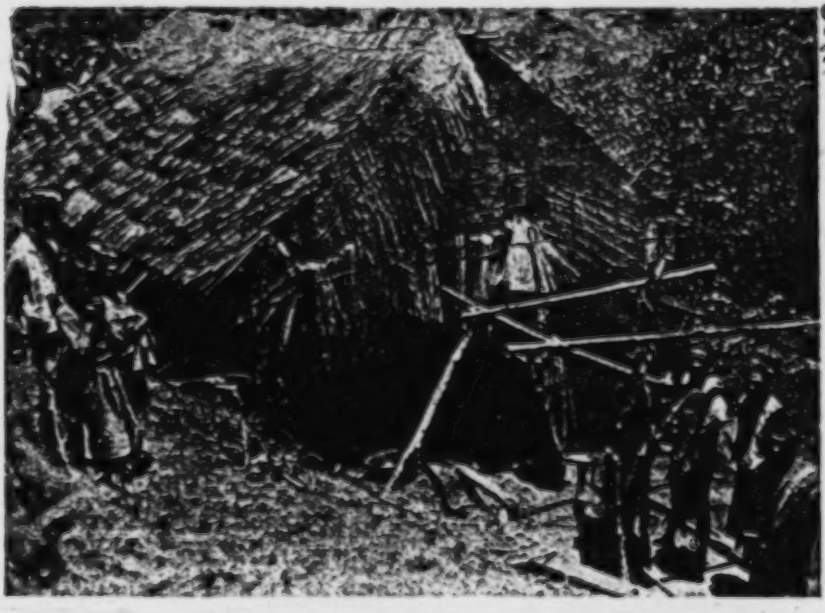

Photo Walter Spies.

2. *The big kubu for the exiles.*

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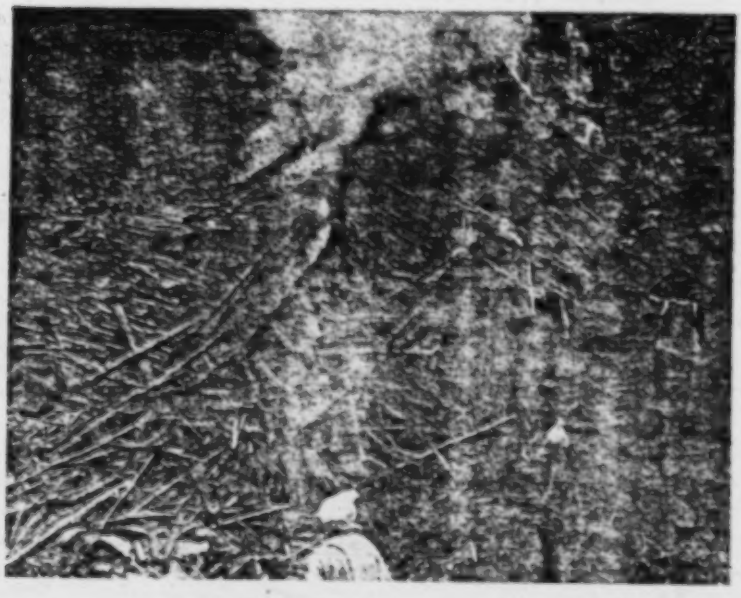

Photo Walter Spies.

3. The big kubu is burned down.

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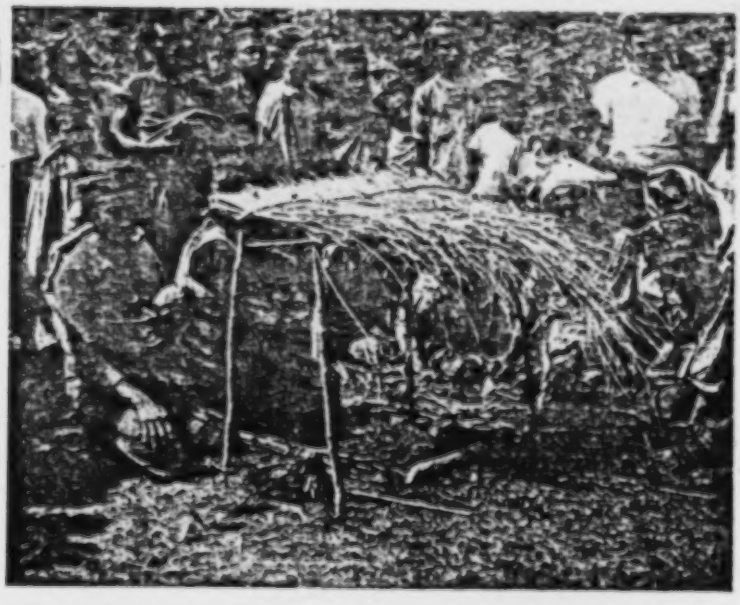

Photo Walter Spies.

4. Ceremony at the small kubu. The father holds the pusuh, the mother the twin. Each carries a knife with an onion impaled.